1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 APT Burma
Burmese AP4
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593 always do so, at home and everywhere else, but mother understands
177. that you make habits easily at your English school. Never walk into
57 the house with your slippers on, as you do in the downstairs room here. When you eat with your grandmother and aunts, don't touch anything until your aunts have put a little of it into Grandmother's plate. And try not to talk to one another in English." All the way in the train my sisters would fling themselves at me and shout, "Big Elder Sister, Big Big Elder Sister."

528 We went to Ye during our summer holidays which were the longest
592 in the school year and allowed us three weeks with my father and a
• 264 month at Ye. It also enabled us to pay obeisance to our grandmother at the New Year, and to celebrate this loveliest of festivals in its most fitting surroundings. My Uncle San Lin usually sent his wife and our four small cousins at the same time, so that for one month in the year at least Grandmother could feel that the world of big towns and English civilization had not robbed her of any family affection. Sleeping and eating arrangements for the gathering of twenty odd people were no problems for the simple large-scale economy of the household. My mother had a bed, and beside it my Aunt Khin and all the children slept on thinbyus laid side by side on the platform upper storey. Meals were eaten in successive rounds at a low table on the kitchen floor, not served as separate sittings, but by calling more diners as places were vacated, and filling each dish that diminished from the stove near-by.

529 Half of our visit to Ye was spent at the garden where we were
177 surrounded by rich fruits and could bathe in the clear swift water that rushed through islands of reeds. We walked and rode in bullock carts,

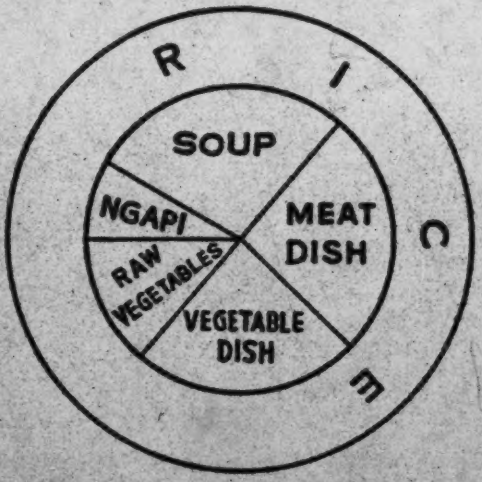
for miles, to visit other gardens owned by Grandmother's friends—old men and women who lived there all the time, and who chuckled with delight to see us, for to them we were not ourselves, not ordinary

(83)

CHAPTER ELEVEN

IF my aunt's character and speech were full of sharpnesses with which she jabbed at people, they will all be forgiven her for the sensuous delights which she provided for one and all with her qualities as a cook and an expert on foods. She was such a wonderful cook, she used to be asked to supervise at *a-hlus*, the mass cooking for free feasting of clergy and townspeople. She regarded the feasting of others as her one indulgence in life. In all other respects she economized and denied her tastes like all Burmese spinster ladies, but in the matter of food she considered that we did not live lavishly or plenteously enough. She knew the rarest tit-bits, the physiological effects of eating any particular food, the properties of leaves, the times of year when the most ordinary foods had the greatest beneficent influence.

The field of Burmese food is a rich territory, and so little explored by foreigners who will normally hear only of the ngapi, rice and salad leaves of the poorest people, that I am tempted to write a whole chapter on it, as dedication to my Kyi-Kyi Lon. The composition of the average plain Burmese meal is: boiled white rice; the *hingyo* or soup; the ngapi or condiment dish; the *to-sa-ya*, "dipper", or raw green vegetable dish which may be classed as a naked salad; the dressed or cooked vegetable dish; and the *hin*, the "curry" of meat or fish to provide the gravy. Roughly, the importance and quantity of each dish may be shown thus, diagramatically:



If any visitors are expected there may be one or two other dishes, but this is the standard meal and is enjoyed by all classes of people except the poorest; a-so-ya mins, rich men, clerks and petty traders all eat the same, more or less. For a family of four or five persons two such meals can be provided daily at a cost of about Re. 1/- or Re. 1/4 in an average district town or village.

264 This is for the fresh bazaar, most families storing rice, saltfish and
511 ngapi, and sesamum oil for cooking, by the month or longer periods.

The rice is cooked to result in clean and separate grains. The usual
252 method is to put it on the fire with cold water, using judgment as to the
262 amount of grain and water for the pot. A person who cannot "cut his coat according to his cloth" is "*ko-oh hnin ko hsan ma-tan bè* : his grain and pot do not accord". When, after coming to the boil, the rice is cooked but not yet soft, it is drained by decanting; the water is kept aside for starching the jackets of the women in the daily wash, and the pot is put back on to coals or half off a fire, with the lid left open to let the steam escape and complete the cooking of the rice. It is shaken once or twice during this process, but there is no harm done if a bad servant forgets to do this or puts the pot back on a strong fire, for then the burnt rice is scraped up in a cake (*gyo*) and is eaten, dipped in oil and salt, by the children with great relish.

The soup is always clear. The great majority of soups are plain hingyos, with a stock of fish, prawn or dried prawn; flavoured with ngapi, beaten garlic or onion. It is made fresh for each soup, and when it comes to the boil, green vegetables are thrown in and left just long enough to wear down the tough cellulose. The vegetables are never overcooked. Throwing in the vegetables is called *hingyo hkut-tè*, ladling out the soup, and the green things for ladling are numerous indeed. Of leaves, the tamarind, the sorrel, the drumstick (*moringa pterygosperma*), the *kinmun*, the calabash, the mustard, various types of spinach, are only some. Some particular leaves, stalks or fruits require adaptations in the soup they ladle; for example, green chillies with the sorrel, pepper corns with the calabash; and the neem and *mezali* leaves are so bitter that they must be rubbed in salt and cooked three times before they can be eaten. All leaves used for soup have a distinct and delicate flavour. If the soup were strained after the leaves had been boiled in it a few minutes, one could still identify the taste. Richer soups are made with stock of meat—pig's trotters, chicken or duck—and are ladled with dried mushrooms, dried flowers or vermicelli strands, transparent and fair as the lotus.

263 The ngapi, condiment, dish has several standard forms. "Ngapi"
[438] is the general term applied to any of its forms. Usually it comes to the housewife as seinsa ngapi, from Tenasserim, such as is made by my aunts in Ye, or from Yandoon in the Delta region. This high-smelling, strongly flavoured paste is stored in glazed earthen jars and flavours almost all dishes or is cooked into its own palatable forms. It is fried with chillies and pounded dried prawns into a crisp brownness, in which form Europeans like it as a toast spread which they call *balachaung*. It

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

intended more as an excuse for people to enter the house and have a talk than with any idea of making a profit. Whatever money is drawn is regarded as a kind of pin-money for the mistress of the establishment. When the ladies of the household are in earnest about trading, they start a stall in the bazaar, and very good hands they are at driving a bargain. A more regrettable trait is the forcible character of their language when they are annoyed. But this, unhappily, is a characteristic of the fair sex all the world over, whether in trade or out of it. Certain it is that the *dames de la halle* and the Billingsgate fishwives would require all their powers of voice and vituperation to silence a bazaar maiden when she sets her mind to it.

There are as a general thing two meals only in the day: breakfast at about eight in the morning, and dinner at five in the afternoon. There is no difference in the *menu* of the two meals. The staple article of food is plain boiled rice, which is piled up in a heap on a huge platter, round about which the household arrange themselves, sitting, like pit-men, on their heels. The curry which is taken with it is placed in little bowls, and each one of the party has his own plate, and helps himself. Knives are unnecessary; spoons and forks and celestial chopsticks are unknown, except in the houses of a few Government officials and traders in Rangoon, who have had some experience of English society. Very few are able to afford curries of meat or fish, besides that there are not always unscrupulous people ready to disregard the law against taking life, and the material is therefore not always available. Ordinarily the curry consists of a soup, or thin concoction of vegetables, in which chillies and onions figure largely. The other ingredients are very various. Young shoots of bamboo are very delicate in their flavour, if not overpowered by too much garlic. Wild asparagus, the succulent stems of a number of aquatic plants and fleshy arums are constantly used, and may be seen exposed for sale in every bazaar. Tamarind leaves and those of the mango-tree are used by the very poor. The former have a somewhat acrid taste, the latter are curiously aromatic. Along with the curry, which has always a large amount of oil and salt in it, there are a variety of condiments, notably the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 APl Burma
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strongly-flavoured nga-pi, without which no Burman would consider his meal complete. Sometimes the big, fierce-stinging kā-gyin, a species of red ant, is used along with this fish paste, sometimes it is fried in oil by itself. As may be imagined, they have an acid and decidedly pungent flavour about them. Roasted turtle's and iguana's eggs, dried fish, and fried ginger are gourmand's adjuncts. There is a particular objection to the smell of cookery, and when anything is fried in oil, or prepared so as to produce a strong savour, it is always done to leeward of the house, and where the fumes may not reach any other dwelling. Such smells are believed to be very productive of fever. Nothing is ever drunk at meals, but each one, when he has finished, goes to the earthenware jar full of water which stands in a corner of the verandah, and rinses out his mouth. It is a lamentable fact that many Burmans in the low country now drink beer and spirits, but this is never done at meals nor in the house, where, indeed, the wife would not allow it. It is deplorable, because it is drinking for the sake of drinking, and is never done in moderation. The tippling Burman goes to the "toddy-shop" for his liquor, and he does not know when to stop. Brandy of the fiery description known to the British soldier as "fixed bayonets," or "chain-shot," is often drunk, but the usual tipple is "Old Tom." A particularly heady mixture of this with cheap beer is affected by confirmed topers. It is contrary to the national religion, and it does not suit the national temperament.

After meals every one smokes—men, women, and children. Facetious people have declared that Burman babies blow a cloud while they are still at the breast. This is inaccurate. They never indulge till they are able to walk without needing the assistance of their hands, but their mothers give them whiffs long before that. The ordinary Burman cheroot is very mild and has really very little tobacco in it. The full-flavoured article to be seen occasionally in London shops is manufactured entirely for English residents. The se paw-leip, the cigar for home consumption, commonly known as the green cheroot, is very large, from six to eight inches long and about an inch in diameter at one end, tapering to slightly less at the other.

511 722 361 342 much of the Pathwe space was not vital in that it was used for social or storage functions only. 2987 cubic feet were used in Pathwe for sleeping, cooking, and religious purposes, approximately 20% of the total amount of space. However, all of the space in the refugee camp was used for these vital purposes. About 1/10th of the Pathwe space for these functions was available in the camp. In commenting on the differences, U Myaing especially stressed the lack of space and the fact that all functions had to be done in the same enclosure. He did not seem particularly bothered about the lack of space for social functions or visitors.

There seemed to be no difference regarding costs of housing - non-existent in both cases beyond the original investment in Pathwe. Also there is no difference regarding use of land surrounding house. The reduction of space available for the altar from a six taung room to a place on the wall seemed to be regarded lightly. The Pathwe house was undoubtedly healthier with its windows and open space, and this handicap will be further discussed under the heading of health.

511 722 352 415 There is considerable difference in the house furnishings of the two places. The quality and the quantity of the objects in the refugee camp are considerably lower. The bric-a-brac (porcelain duck glass elephant, and porbelain water jug) were lost in Pathwe and regretted because of sentimental value. The earthen-ware jars used for storing fish have no use here and are not "desired", but the HSOON vessels would be useful now. These would cost about Rs. 25/- apiece here. The KYAUK-HAN food carrier is also desired and this would cost Rs. 10/- here. Mosquito nets for Daw Aw Zar and the children would certainly be desirable, but these would cost over Rs.30/- even if made from cheap plain material.

●[264] The tables used in Pathwe are not found in camp since the family sit on the floor on the mats and hold their dishes in their laps, and one stool is used in camp and this by Mr. Aye Myaing in preparing the food. Storage containers including cupboards and boxes have been dispensed with and their place taken by baskets in camp. The bedding in camp lacks the comforts of mattress and adequate mosquito nets and pillows. The point must be made however, that U Myaing's family is used to sleeping on hard surfaces and it may not be supposed that the [513]

The daily work schedule of U Myaing while he was working as a fish processor (2 months in a year) was as follows:- 512 461 264

He rose at four or five in the morning said his prayers, drank plain tea, had boiled beans, fried fish and rice left over from the previous day's evening meal. After that he went to collect fish, bring it to the bank and start work on it. He rested from 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock. At two he resumed work till about five when he would be finished for the day. Sometimes he would sleep at the work place after returning home for his evening meal.

Work in the Refugee Camp.

Shortly after arriving at the Camp U Myaing worked in Sulian Park near the Kokine market where a factory for spinning and weaving cloth was being set up. The contractor was Chinese, and he engaged between 30 to 35 labourers every day. These labourers were unskilled and they were employed in levelling the ground and laying the foundation of the factory. Most of the labourers were Indians - there being only two Burmans, U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing got Rs. 2/-. The working hours stretched from eight in the morning to 12 noon, with a break of one hour at 12. At one o'clock they resumed work and continued until five in the evening. In the mornings they had to go to the factory by themselves, and this took them about a half hour walk. Sometimes they were sent home in a truck in the evenings. U Myaing had to enquire each day at various places for a chance to work. He was not always successful. 722 461 464 331

It was not usual for Ma Aye Myaing to come along like this to work as a labourer. This was the first time she did so. Ma Aye Myaing said that in future she would accompany U Myaing whenever there are prospects of such work. They knew that women worked in this way, but had not known that such work was available. [562]

As a matter of fact, I met U Myaing through the mats which were made in his camp. We got dinner place mats through him. These are rectangular 1½ feet by 2 feet mats of finely woven split cane in an over 2 - under 2 pattern. They cost Rs. 2/8 each. U Myaing arranged for the making of these mats and collected the money for them, but 285 437

Sample Meals

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The type and quality of food prepared for consumption in one day (two meals) in camp for the family was analysed. Both meals consisted of boiled rice plus a single dish or curry. The trifles eaten during the day are also noted. Ma Aye Myaing was asked to serve identical amounts of the food eaten. The eldest daughter was absent during the day so the food was consumed by Ma Aye Myaing, U Myaing, Daw Aw Zar and the three younger daughters (6 all told).

First Meal (7:30 a.m.)

The rice was boiled and steamed; the other ingredients were fried together into a curry dish (PAN MOMLA and PUZUN GYAW - cauliflower and prawn fry). The weight of the items are given below in grams.

Item	Weight in Grams
HSAW (rice: oriza, LINN.), 4½ tins, dry	1124
Water for boiling rice	1530
PAN MOMLA (Cauliflower: Brassica oleracea, LINN., Sub-species botrytis), 2	481
PAZUN ZIET (prawn: carago Sp.)	122
Sesamum oil	59
KYET-THUN-U-GYI (onions: Allium cepa, LINN.), 4	52
NGAN-PYAR-YE (fish water)	11
NGANYOK-THEE (dried red chillies pounded: capsicum annuum, LINN.)	12
salt (sodium chloride), plain	9
BAMA LA PHET CHAUK (tea leaves: camellia thea, link)	5
Total	3405

3 trifles MONSAN, MA-TWAY (puffed rice sticks held together with jaggery) each measuring 2" by 3½" by 1" and weighing in all 126 grams were eaten by the 3 children in the late forenoon. (Jaggery is juice of palmya palm. BORASSUS FLABELLIFER, LINN.)

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Second Meal (5:00 p.m.)

Steamed rice was eaten with a fish curry dish (NGA HYAY NA CHIN HNO)

Item	Weight in Grams
Rice (same type and amount as 1st meal)	1124
Water for boiled rice.....	1530
NGA PYAY MA (climbing Anabas testiduna), 13 fish.....	281
Garlic.....	6
Onions.....	15
Chillies (pounded).....	22
MA GYI-THEZ (tamarind)	37
Salt	10
Sesamum oil	28
NGAN-PYAR-YE	23
Water used in curry	261
Total	3337

In the afternoon 1 anna's worth of PE KHAY GYAW trifle (grounded grams fried in groundnut oil after moulding, Grams are chick peas: Cicer arietinum, LINN., groundnuts are peanuts: Arachis hypogaea, LINN.) weighing 32 grams were bought for the children.

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Table:- An average estimate of major Foods consumed by U Myaing's family. (Number of meals per month over quantity per meal in parenthesis.)

Item	Food consumed in Pathee	Food consumed in Camp
HSAN (rice)	60 (5 milk tins)	60 (5½ milk tins)
Fish	30 eaten when other meats not eaten. (50 ticals)	4 (12½ ticals)
Prawns	10 (25 ticals)	15 (15 ticals)
KALAHE (Dhall beans)	5 (25 ticals)	25 (25 ticals)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Camp
Chicken	8 (whole fowl) 50-60 ticals	0
Duck	8 (50 ticals)	0
Beef	8 (50 ticals)	0
Pork	10 (25 ticals)	2 (25 ticals)
Duck eggs	3 (5 eggs)	0
HANYAN THEE (brinjal fruit)	7 (5 fruits)	10 (16 fruits)
PE LINNE THEE (snake gourd)	8 (2 gourds)	10 (3 gourds)
PE THEE (beans)	3 (25 beans)	4 (25 beans)
NGAYOKE THEE ACHAUK (dried chillies)	60 (1/20 viss)	60 (5 chillies)
KYEE THUN NI (onions)	60 (1/20 viss)	60 (1/20 viss)
AR LU (potatoes)	4 Prepared only for ponyis. (50 ticals)	5 (33 ticals)
HSA (salt)	With fried fish only (12½ ticals a month).	60 (1.3 ticals)
NGAN PYAR YE (fish juice)	60 (5 ticals, 6 spoonfuls)	60 (2 ticals - 2 spoonfuls)
NHAN HSI (Sesamum oil)	60 (3.3 ticals)	60 (1 tical)
KYAN TAGAR (cane jaggery)	2 (2½ ticals)	5 (2½ ticals)
HTIN (firewood)	60 (5 pieces)	60 (3 pieces)
BAMA LAPHET CHAUK (tea leaves)	60 (2.5 teaspoons ful)	60 (2.5 teaspoon fuls)
BU THEE (gourd fruit)	4 (1 slice 1 ½' by 2")	2 (½ slice)
DAN DAUN THEE (drumstick fruit)	0	2 (25 fruits)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathee	Camp
ION PAIE THEE(Lady's finger fruit)	4 (10 fruit)	.25 (10 fruit)
KAZUN YWET (Rabbit green leaf)	5 (1 bundle)	10 (1 bundle)
KYAUNG SHAR THEE (fruit)	10 (1 fruit)	.1 (1 fruit)
DANYIN THEE (small fruit)	Every day in season. (10 fruits)	5 (10 fruits)
THAYET YWET (Mango leaf)	3 (5 leaves)	0
MAYAN THEE (Marian fruit)	6 (6 fruits)	2 (6 fruits)
HSU BOTE YWET (Acacia leaves)	3 (5 leaves)	0
SHWE PAYON THEE (golden pumpkin)	4 (½ fruit)	0
THAMA THEE (cucumber)	3 (1 fruit 1' by 2")	5 (1 fruit 8" by 2")
HMO MA DO (water fern leaves)	.4 (8 leaves)	.1 (8 leaves)
HMO (mushrooms)	3 (50 ticals)	0
KAN PI GOK (cabbage)	2 (1 cabbage 7" diam.)	3 (25 ticals)
SU NYUNT (tender shoots of bottle gourd)	5 5 sprouts	.25 4 sprouts
MA GYEE YWET (tamarind leaves)	5 (5 ticals)	0
KYAR YO (lotus stalk)	3 (5 stalks)	0
SAR LAY CHE DAUK (sprouts)	2 (1 bundle)	0
ON SHI YWET (leaves of bael fruit)	3 (6 leaves)	0
SHAUK THEE (large lemons)	0	3 (3 fruit)
MIN KYAT YOE trifle (lotus stalk shaped trifle)	4 trifles	0
MIN LET SAUK trifle (bracelet shaped trifle)	0	3 (4 trifles)

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Item	Food consumed in Patmos	Camp
MON OT KALAY trifle (small cover trifle)	0	28 (8 trifles)
MON SALIN DAUNG trifle. (circular trifle)	0	4 (4 trifles)
HSALUT TWET (leaves of lettuce)	0	3 (2 sprouts)
MON LAR TWET (carrot leaves)	3 (6 sprouts)	0
PEDI BIN BAUK (bean sprouts)	0	(once only) (25 ticals)
TAMAR TWET (leaves of neem)	0	2 (1 bundle)
HPAN DA THEE (fruit)	0	4 (10 fruits)
PEIN NE THEE (Jack fruit)	.3 ($\frac{1}{3}$ fruit)	.25 ($\frac{1}{4}$ fruit)
PAZUN NGABAUNG GYAN (prawns fried in meal.)	6 (40 prawns)	.1 (20 prawns)
NGA NGABAUNG GYAN (fish fried in flour)	0	4 (3 fish pieces)
THAYET THEE THANAT (mango pickle)	3 (4 pieces)	10 (4 pieces)
MAYAN THEE THANAT (marian pickle)	0	Sampled only
ZEE YO (plum jam)	1 (1 tea cup)	5 ($\frac{1}{2}$ teacup)
THAYET THEE HNA SEIN (salted mangoes)	10 (1 mango)	0
MAYAN THEE HSA SEIN (salted marians)	Almost every day (6 marians)	0
NAN NAT YO (pineapple jam)	0	once only (5 ticals)
THAYET YO (mango jam)	.25 (1 teacup)	0
KAZIN U (sweet potato)	10 (50 ticals)	once only (50 ticals)
MON LAR U GYAN (fried carrots)	3 (30 ticals)	0
THEIN BAN THEE CHIN YE (Sour dish of pazdya fruit)	4 (30 ticals)	0
NAR LAY CHI GYAN	0	every day 5

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Item	Food consumed in Pathee	Camp
PEIN U (taro tuber)	4 (30 ticals)	0
GYIN THOKE (mixed ginger dish)	.4	5 (5 ticals)
AR PON (concave shaped trifle)	Every day (4 ticals)	0
KYAN (sugar cane)	6 (7 stalks)	occasionally (4 stalks)
KYET THUN GYAW (fried onion trifle)	3	3 (4 pieces)
[illegible] THEE (guava fruit)	6 (5 fruits)	almost every day (12 fruits)
PEIN NE THEE TOZAYA (Jack fruit as TOZAYA)	.9 (1 fruit)	.4 (1 fruit)
PAUK PAUK HNOTE (puffed rice trifle)	3 (3 teacupsful)	0
KAYE KAYAR (puffed rice trifle)	2 (12.5 ticals)	0
PAUK PAUK PYIN (puffed rice with jam trifle)	"widely consumed"	0
[illegible] THEE (pineapple)	0	4 (1 fruit)
PE MYIT (Gwa bean roots)	rarely	only once (6 roots)
PALAW PYAW (Tapioca tubers)	7 (50 ticals)	2 (10 ticals)
MON HINGA (bitter curry	4 (30 ticals)	5 (2½ ticals)
KAUKHYIN BAUNG. (steamed treacle rice)	3 (25 ticals)	Every day (15 ticals)
HKEIN MON (wheel-shaped trifle)	3 (20 ticals)	2
PE GYAW (fried peas in meal)	4 (4)	2 (4)
MON PYIT SALET ("worthless" cake trifle)	4 (4)	2 (4)
MON KYO LEIN (twisted rope trifle)	5 (6)	4 (6)
MON HKEIN BAUNG (steamed raw trifle)	10 (20 ticals)	.2 (20 ticals)
MON OH HNAUK (brain trifle)	2 (15 ticals)	0
MON KYWE THE (cake-buffalo-heart)	.25 (5 ticals)	15 (8 ticals)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
HT.NYET CHAUNG (jaggery sticks trifle)	0	10 (3)
PE GYI LLAW (roasted big beans trifle)	5 (12½ ticals)	8 (10 ticals)
MAI HE (groundnuts or peanuts)	4 (two condensed milk tins)	2 (4 ticals)
P.TT.HI (pea seed trifle)	0	.1 (4 annas worth)
PE BYOTE (boiled beans)	every morning (12½ ticals)	every morning (12½ ticals)
THAR GU (sago)	2 (6 saucers)	.4 (6 saucers)
MON LET HSAUNG (trifle made by cooling)	5 (4 cups)	3 (4 cups)
MON LEIT PYAR (Butterfly trifle)	0	6 (20 ticals)
KHAUK MON (trifle folded in half)	0	6 (2)
BU THEE GYAW (fried gourd fruit)	4 (7)	0
NGA PYAW GYAW (fried plantains)	3 (13)	0
ZEE THEE (plum)	4 (2 milk tins)	0
MAYA.I THEE .HEE (ripe marians)	5 (10)	Almost every day in season (30)
THAYET THEE .HEE (ripe mangoes)	5 (10)	6 .3
NG PYAW THEE (bananas)	5 (13, 1 bunch)	5 (1 bunch)
THAGYAR LON (sugar ball candy)	0	8 (2)
CHO CHIN (Sweet-sour candy)	0	3 (6)
KYET HINGA THEE (bitter gourd fruit)	0	3 times only
KYET THUN BYU (garlic)	40 (.9 ticals)	40 (.5 ticals)
MON LAR U (radish)	.25 (6 fruits)	5 (6 fruits)
HIN NU HPE (spinach)	0	once only (2 sprouts)
ZAING YA THEE (edges-line-fruit)	.11 (8 ticals)	0

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Item	Food consumed in Pathe	Camp
NGA TOTE KAUNG ZE (pepper corn)	.25 (10 corns)	.25 (10 corns)
MENALI leaves	.50 (15 ticals)	once only
NAN NAN (coriander leaves)	20 in season (7½ ticals)	.25 (3 ticals)
HSANWIN (tumeric)	60 (a pinch)	60 (a pinch)
NAZUN DOKE (Greyfish)	4 (35 ticals)	0
[illegible] KYIT (Palmyra root)	once only	only once (2 roots)
ANDAHLUT (arrow root)	.15 (55 ticals)	.5 (2½ ticals)
MINGOUT THEE (mangosteen)	once only	0
DU[illegible]IN THEE (durian)	.25 (1 fruit)	0
LEIN MAW THEE (oranges)	0	3 times only (5 fruits)
NGAPI GYAW (fish-pickle-fried).	50	1.1 (12½ ticals)
NGAPI ANYAR CHET (fish-pickle liquid-cooked)	.25 (25 ticals)	.5 (25 ticals)
NGAPI YE GYO (ngapi with water)	60 (3 ticals)	50 (2½ ticals)
KHAUK HSWE (wheat noodles)	¼ (U Hpaing) (25 ticals)	once only (25 ticals)
GWE THI (fruit)	1 (1 fruit)	0
THE HTU THEE (plum-white-fruit).	.3 (½ milk tin)	.9 (1½ milk tin)
MON LON GYI (cake-round-fried)	2 (36 ticals)	0
PE MON MSOK (bean-cake-ball)	.6 (20 ticals)	0
MON BAING BAING (cake-shuttle-stick).	.5 (1 milk tin)	0
MON HSAN (sticky rice dish)	every day in season. (4 milk tins)	0
HNA HWIN NA KIN (foreign expression Burmanised)	.25 (30 ticals)	0
KYAUK MAW (stone-smooth)	.9 (40 ticals)	0

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Analysis of Food Consumption

Table 2.9% gives a rough idea of the food consumption in Pathwe and Camp - summarizing the foregoing data. Whatever the degree of absolute accuracy, this data is felt to be especially valuable in giving the relative consumption of items in the two areas. In general, the food pattern of Pathwe was not broken in camp but it was rather severely modified by the dropping of the more expensive and unavailable items and substitution of cheaper, available ones. The direction of the change is clear, the degree and specific nature of the change is discussed below.

Table . Summary incident of use of food items by U Myaing's family

Place and Use of Items	Frequency	Proportion
Items used only in Pathwe	40	31%
Items used only in camp	23	17%
Items used in both places: 1. But more frequently in Pathwe	30	23%
2. But more frequently in camp	24	18%
3. Same frequency in both places	13	10%
Total:	130	99%

These gross figures indicate that only a small proportion of the Pathwe complex (13items) have remained unchanged, over ¾ of the Pathwe complex (40 items) have been discarded, and the frequency of use of the rest shifted: 23 new items are added to the camp complex. A drastic change is thus demonstrated although the camp complex has only 17 items less than the Pathwe complex.

The gross idea of the shift in quantity of food used in both Pathwe and camp is gained from the following table:

Table . Variation in quantity of food per meal used at both Pathwe and Camp by U Myaing's family

Type of Variation	Frequency	Proportion
Same amount used in camp as in Pathwe	31	44%
A greater amount used in camp than in Pathwe	6	9%
A lesser amount used in camp than in Pathwe	23	34%

Type of Variation	Frequency	Proportion
Non-comparable items	7	10%
Totals:	67	99%

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This table shows the relatively high proportion of food items that are used in lesser quantities than in Pathwe.

The factor of quality could not be controlled in this survey - and since it was not mentioned by the informants we may assume that it is negligible and may be disregarded.

The type of food in which the changes have taken place, along with the reasons given for the shifts give us a comprehensive picture of what has taken place.

Most of the items which did not change in frequency from Pathwe to camp are staples including : rice, fish juice, sesamum oil, tea leaves, chillies, PE BYUTE beans, firewood, onions, garlic, and tumeric that are used every day. However, the only one of this group to increase in quantity was the rice - due to the growing children. Fish juice consumption dropped ⅓ but was supplemented by the addition of salt for flavouring. Sesamum oil also dropped about the same proportions due to lack of extensive frying. The drop in firewood was supplemented by brush fragments collected around camp. Inexpensive items which were cheaper in Rangoon or just as cheap as Pathwe including onions, garlic, PE BYUTE beans, and tea were maintained at the same level.

The most severe drop was in meats (chicken, duck, beef, pork) which in all were included in approximately half of the meals each month in Pathwe, but were discontinued because they could not be afforded in camp. The fish consumption also dropped to about 1/7 th of what it had been . In Pathwe fish and fish products were free from the IRS which U Myaing worked. This deficiency is supplemented to a certain extent by prawns but especially by the inexpensive KALABE or dhall beans which in camp become a staple eaten almost every day. Whereas it was used only occasionally in Pathwe as a food definitely not preferred. A number of inexpensive fruits and vegetables including brinjals, snake gourd, rabbit greens, cucumber, guava fruit, ripe mangoes, become important in supplementing the camp diet increasing double or more in frequency of use of each case with an increase in quantity per meal that reflects the growing

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capacity of the children. By eating the fruits in season they are secured relatively cheaply and in sufficient quantities.

The greatest part of the food items used in Pathwe but not in camp were specialty dishes and trifles for which substitutions could be made in some cases. Most were missed and desired in varying degrees although they were too expensive in Rangoon or not available. A few, although available, were not purchased because the family "didn't feel like it." A large number of items in this group including the tree leaves and stalks were obtained free in Pathwe, either for the picking or as gifts, and were prepared at home (salting and drying) without cost to the family. Such items (the fish products above are included) accrued to the family because of its situation or position in the village. The food gifts from the government agencies caring for refugees are in a comparable catagory for the family's camp position - but, of course, were staples rather than the specialty items of Pathwe The opportunities for gathering of food ingredients in and around the camp are poor because the land is in special (shade , etc.) trees and besides is privately owned. The camp is a good five or ten miles from good gathering areas. As an IN (large trap) fisherman U Nyaing is not interested in line fishing even if it were possible to get to fishing areas.

Most of the items used in camp for the first time are trifles often never seen before coming to Rangoon - but quite similar to the trifles used in Pathwe. The consumption of trifles has risen sharply in camp but most go to the younger children. Possibly the sweet tidbits compensate for the lack of the more satisfying Pathwe diet.

These are much more plentiful in camp and the temptation to spend on trifles, especially to please the children, is great.

A few items (bean-sprouts in prawns, spinach soup) are tried for the first time in camp and not repeated although the ingredients may be cheap. An element of choice still persists in camp although it is greatly restricted by costs.

In general, the data indicates that the Pathwe food pattern was not broken in the camp adjustment but was modified in the direction of simplification in which the more expensive items of the Pathwe diet were

were dropped in favour of cheaper Rangoon products. The new items added to the diet in camp were either similar to those of Pathwe of known before. No real innovations were attempted with success.

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SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL ACTIVITIES

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An attempt will be made under this heading to present some of the major routine activities carried out by U Myaing's family in every day life. Because of the complex nature of the socio-ceremonial activities it will be possible only to outline the more important of these activities. They may be grouped under the headings of (1) activities concerning the family relations, (2) activities relating the family to the community and state and (3) activities relating the family to the supernatural. Wherever possible the Pathwe situation will be compared to that of the refugee camp.

Family Relations

Marriage

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U Myaing's account of the initial step in the formation of a family is of some interest. When a couple in love have money, they might marry with a proper ceremony; when they do not, they have to elope. U Myaing eloped with his wife. Some people take this course because the parents are not agreeable to the match. Others feel that it takes too much trouble and time to get married with proper ceremony. Others again elope because they do not like the match made for them by parents. U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing gave as reason the point that it took too long and too much trouble to get properly married. Also at that time they could not afford to spend a great deal of money.

Some time after elopement there are attempts either on the part of the parents or the elders of the village to effect a reconciliation between the parties concerned. The couple does not usually take the initiative in these proceedings "because the young man is in the position of one who has stolen something from the girl's parents" and consequently has to lie low. The reconciliation takes place through the elders of the village, who approach the parents and request them to take back the young couple. Some couples stay away seven days, some a month, and some a year before rejoining the parental fold. The reconciliation itself is somewhat similar to a wedding ceremony, and

25: Ferrars · E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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48. FOREST KYAUNG.

ates the incumbent, regularly undertakes the support of the *pôndyî*, and frequently of his sojourner *yahân* as well. The food, which is the best of its kind, is brought every morning by the daughters and young children of the supporter, or, in the case of joint support, by children of the leading families in turn. An ornamented vessel is used, having a tall finial to the cover (*ôt*). The supplies are received by the lay scholars or the novices, and by them served to the *yahân*. The principal meal is taken shortly before noon, for no food may be eaten after that hour till the following sunrise. Water may be drunk and betel chewed at any time. Tobacco-smoking is discountenanced, especially in Burma Proper, where the religious views are strictest. Burma furnishes the standard both for scholarship and practice, and trains most of the incumbents of the monasteries of Pegu. Scholars and novices may prepare food at the monastery from raw supplies. These the *yahân* may not even handle. Hired labour (*kappiza dayaka*) may be attached to the monastery by the supporter for the preparation of food and other services. In some cases lands have been dedicated for the maintenance of monasteries and temples. But the *yahân* have no concern with their administration. Supplies of raiment, chattels and food are dedicated to the use of the recluses when the distinction of their presence is solicited, especially at *shinlaung* fêtes and funerals. The annual provision of raiment (*kathîn thingân*) is made between the months of *Thadingyut* and *Tasaungmôn*. The offerings of necessaries are supplemented by accessories of every sort —books and writing materials, mats,

50. VILLAGE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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137. CARRYING HOME THE WATER-POTS.

fuel is required only for cooking and in manufactures.

Rice is the staple of every meal, except in the dry zone. The millet and sorghum which there take the place of rice are cooked in the same way but need longer boiling. "A rice-boiling" (*ta-ò-dyét*) is the common phrase for an interval of about twenty minutes. After washing in several waters, rice is put to boil in an earthen pot with enough water to cover it, and boiled till the grains are quite clear. The rice-water is poured off, and the rice is put back on the fire to steam. Rice is cooked fresh for every meal and is eaten hot. A relish is made to eat with the rice, consisting of a watery stew of fresh greens or of pulse. The fat used is sesamum oil (*hnan-zí*). This curry is seasoned with turmeric (*sanwin*), capsicum (*ngayòtthi*—chilli), and either salt-fish or *ngapí* (p. 92). Fresh fish, prawns, or meat are added if available. In default of cultivated vegetables, wild greens of all sorts, bamboo-shoots and sprouting leaves are used. Pickles of lime and other fruits are used as separate relishes. There are two meals in the day, both of the same nature. The morning meal is eaten at about nine o'clock, the other before dark. Meals are taken by the household in common. The housewife or daughter gets mats ready in the *kyaunding* and places in the centre a *byat*—a large, deep, wooden platter, lacquered red—into which she turns out the cooked rice (*tamin*). In the middle of the rice is set a bowl with the curry and a spoon. The family squat round the *byat*, or if a large household round several.

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138. STAND FOR THE DRINKING-WATER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

140. FETCHING IN FUEL.

In the villages the passing traveller is invited to join in the meal. Everyone in turn ladles gravy from the bowl on the rice in front of him and mixes and eats it with his fingers. Before and after eating, mouth and fingers are rinsed. After the meal a drink of water is taken. Fruit is eaten after meals and at odd times. The importation of delf crockery and enamelled ware has been going on for a long time.

Betel (*kun*) is taken at all times except at meals, and tobacco is smoked by men, women, and children (No. 21). The betel-box plays the same part in Burman sociality as the snuff-box still does in parts of Europe. The chew of betel is made up of the fresh leaf of the betel-vine (*kun-gnát*, No. 409) smeared with moist slaked lime (*thn*) and folded over slices of the nut of the areca or betel palm. Dried tobacco-leaf, cutch and spices—cinnamon and cloves—are frequently added. "A betel-chewing" is a common phrase for about a quarter of an hour. Old people who have lost their teeth pound up the betel in a small brass mortar (*kun-dyeik*) for chewing. The spittoon (*tuk-gan*) is indispensable.

The native tea is prepared by hill-tribes of the North. It is either in dry balls the size of a fist (*sin-chí*) or loose (*leppétchauk*), or is pickled (*leppékkan*). The dry tea is infused in the Chinese fashion (*leppéyye*, No. 146).

141. GETTING FIRE BY THE NATIVE METHOD.

When the platters have been rinsed after the evening meal and the tables put by—*sabwé-hmauk*—which gives the name to the hour, the day's work is over and the young women smarten themselves up to receive their *hmus*. The chief toilet-requisite is the face-powder (*thanakhá*)—the cream-coloured bark

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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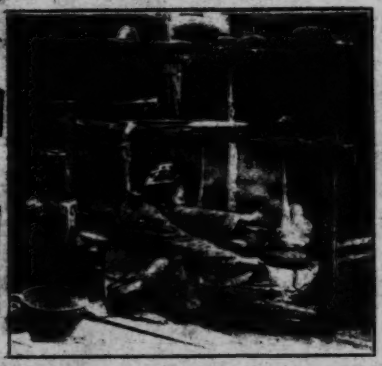

142. THE COOKING-PLACE.

of a tree of the dry zone, ground into a paste with water on a special stone. It is perfumed by grinding sandal-wood with it. The paste is smeared on the face and left to dry, after which the excess is rubbed off. For great occasions the paste is left on over-night. But ordinarily the face is "freshed" with water (*mye-hma-thit*) on rising in the morning. The Burmans admire white teeth and polish them with charcoal on a soft stick. The old style of women's hair-dress was like the early *chignon* fashion of about 1867 in Europe. The *saddn* in this form is seen in Nos. 30, 381. About 1880 a new fashion was set by the palace, which now prevails. Tresses of false hair are much used by the women. Flowers in the hair and jewellery complete the toilet, which, like that of the actors in the *pwé*, is performed in view of everyone. The men's toilet consists in combing their long hair (No. 127). They take pride in the size of their top-knot (*yaung*) and rarely eke it out with false hair in the way the women do. The heavy knot works loose, so that combing and knotting up go on perpetually. The hair of both sexes is coarse and straight and jet black. Children's hair gets foxy from alternate exposure to rain and sun. The hair is smoothed with cocoanut oil and washed with soap-nut once or twice a month. At other times the Burmans are concerned to avoid wetting their hair. The native wooden combs are coarse, but the Chinese tooth comb is beginning to serve a useful purpose. Burmans turn grey at forty to fifty years of age and are white at sixty to seventy. Baldness is rare. Aged men still wear their little top-knot. The men's faces are smooth, many

143. THE FAMILY MEAL (OLD STYLE).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

144. THE FAMILY MEAL (NEW STYLE).

having no trace of beard till thirty. The beard is sparse and is not shaved but plucked out with tweezers. (The *yakán* of Burma likewise use tweezers for the beard.) When there is a passable moustache, towards middle life, it is allowed to grow. The hair on a mole is cultivated—sometimes a single long hair—for luck. Besides the sandal-wood perfume just mentioned, there is the perfumed wood *kalamét*. Sandal-oil and attar of roses have long been imported from India. Scented waters are made from various flowers and an oil is obtained from *baddi-ngan*. Scents imported from Europe have become a regular toilet article. The shoulders and arms of those who habitually wear jackets and do not labour in the open are brunette; face and hands are darker, much like the complexion of the sun-browned Levantine, but of a yellower tint than his. Regular exposure browns the skin to a copper hue, and where exposure is severe to a brown-black, but not so opaque a black as that of India or Africa. The colour lightens again on avoidance of exposure. Women's and children's complexions are fairer; the new-born are no darker than in Europe. As a rule the Burman is darker and slenderer, with a more oval face; the Taláing fairer and more thick-set, with a broader face. The gloss of the skin helps to exaggerate the light and shade in photographs and make the complexion appear too dark. The ordinary stature of the men is from five feet three inches to five feet six inches, and of the women from four feet nine inches to five feet. The people are of a moderately spare habit.

145. BETEL (KUN).

Having made her evening toilet,